1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

The men learned it either in the Japanese schools or in the Japanese army labor gangs. The caliber of Japanese spoken by this group depends usually on the amount of schooling they had or the amount of their contact with the Japanese. A few men in this age group speak some Mandarin, learned from contact with mainlanders or while working in Taipei or local government offices. They do not speak it fluently in most cases, since they only learned it recently. Very few women in this age group speak Mandarin at all. The age group also contains a small number of Mandarin-speaking mainland Chinese who work in the area in some official capacity.

Few villagers above the age of forty-five speak Japanese or Mandarin unless they learned either language through a government job or contact with the Japanese or mainland Chinese group. Villagers over forty-five usually speak only Min-nan.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETTING

The village is the smallest political unit in Taiwan. Several villages make up a *hsiang*, and several *hsiang*—plus several *chen* (township)—comprise a *hsien*. Sixteen *hsien*, including the Pescadores, now make up the province of Taiwan. Hsin Hsing village is one of twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang in Chang-hua Hsien.

The *hsien* is the highest level of government in which the residents of Hsin Hsing and other Taiwanese villages participate, which they do through the elections of *hsien* assemblymen. On the lower level, the villagers vote for their own village officials—*lin* (neighborhood) leaders, mayor, and village representative to the *hsiang* council. The latter council elects the *hsiang* mayor. The present election system, except for the village mayorality "elections" established during Japanese times, was instituted in the postwar period after the arrival of the Chinese Nationalists.

Under the Japanese colonial regime the population had no way to express itself politically on the district, county, or national level. Today, under the Chinese Nationalist government, although the rural population does have a voice in local and district political affairs, the people have little direct influence at the provincial level and no opportunity—either directly or indirectly—to participate in national governmental affairs. Even their influence on *hsien* politics (although assemblymen are elected directly by the people) is very slight.

The Kuomintang, the National People's Party, is considered and referred to as the "Ruling Party" in Taiwan. The party participates in elections for *hsien* assemblymen and for *hsien chang* (magistrate of the county) by running its own candidates who are usually heavy contributors to the party. In Chang-hua Hsien, these candidates are most

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

of generosity is not characteristic of a man who has risen through the ranks of the *lo mua*. His competitors had more than likely caught him in practices unfair even among the *lo mua*. On the day that he was to divide the money with them, there was a problem. The officials of the winery had to delay their payment. Lim Hue-lieng informed the men of this and they seemed to accept it, even inviting him to a dinner the following evening. Lim Hue-lieng was not paid off the next day either, and when he explained the problem to his "friends," they gave every indication of believing him.

A Taiwanese dinner party is a seemingly informal affair that operates under very formal rules. Even in the village, feasts are rarely simple expressions of hospitality. The guests are poor relatives, wealthy relatives to whom the host is indebted, friends, business associates, and men to whom he owes social or monetary debts. In some families these tend to be quite large affairs with four or five tables of eight men each. There is another kind of dinner party—more common to townsfolk but occasionally given by the wealthier village men—which can only be described as select. These parties are limited to one table of guests and are usually held in a restaurant rather than a home. Each guest is invited for a definite if unspecified purpose: the man who is pressed by his host into the most honored position at the table knows he is being thanked for a favor, or about to be asked for one; the guest who finds himself sitting in an undesirable spot is silently informed that the favor he requested will not be granted; another guest is made to understand that his friendship is valued but should not be pressed by a special request. In Taipei it is common for businessmen to give a feast for their employees during the New Year's season. An employee whose performance has been unsatisfactory will find himself in the honored position: his employer is giving him face before his fellow workers and also making it clear that he should resign the following week.

Be it a select dinner party or a huge village feast, the duty of the host is to urge as much food as possible down his guests and as much wine. Wine drinking at a banquet is the least informal aspect of the whole affair. If he wishes to insult no one (and this may very well not be his wish) each guest must drink a toast to every man at his table at some time during the evening. No guest can refuse to drink the toast without causing serious insult or involving himself in a long explanation. Since drinking in the village only occurs in conjunction with

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

his bath first. I went to get some more water to cool off the bath water and I accidently banged the dipper against the tin. It made a loud noise and Gioq-ki began to scream at me. She said I did it because I was angry and I had no right to be angry. She scolded on and on and told me over and over to get out of the house and go live somewhere else. Finally I just said I would come and find mother and if she said it was all right, I would go away."

A-hua's grandmother interrupted her. "You dummy. Gioq-ki is not your mother and yet you talk about leaving because she says to. If your mother said that, it would be different. Gioq-ki isn't your mother."

The other women murmured agreement with the old woman, but A-hua hardly seemed to hear them. "I know why Gioq-ki says these things all the time now. The factory has been closed down for a couple of weeks and so she thinks I am just sitting at home eating her food. Everyday I have to bear her scolding now. When she feels like hitting me or scolding me, she just does it for no reason at all except that she feels like it. She is always saying, 'You are an adopted daughter and I am the real daughter. It is right that I scold and hit you.'"

By this time the room was nearly filled with the various aunts and cousins who lived in the compound, some of whom dismissed the uproar with, "Oh, two sisters always fight." Others, surprised by the unusual break in A-hua's stoicism, tried to console the girl with various formulas. One of the younger women whispered to me a fact I already knew: even when A-hua puts in a ten-hour day in the factory, Gioq-ki expects her to feed, bathe, and wash clothes for her three children.

When A-hua's mother returned, the girl was still sobbing. One of the women teased, "Oh, here you are, So-lan. Where have you been hiding? You left and let your two daughters quarrel." So-lan had had enough ill temper in her own home and was noticably irritated at finding the confusion in her mother's home. She listened impatiently to A-hua.

So-lan's mother, a wrinkled old lady who hobbles about on tiny bound feet, and who had also been an adopted daughter, intervened. "Isn't it true what she is saying, So-lan? Don't I often see Gioq-ki scolding her and even hitting her without reason? Isn't it time you scolded your Gioq-ki?"

Lim So-lan hates scenes of any kind and her mother's criticism

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
529 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[708] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
706 a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[466] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
653 impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[823] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

648 177 [466] Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory [825] [761] and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

175 When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr, 175 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In 648 spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

316 There are serious drawbacks however, for health and
• 466 safety standards are almost non-existent. Men frequently
164 die in mine cave-ins, one during our study. Sanlei had
[165] only a few regular miners, yet three women residents were widowed as a result of mine cave-ins although two of them subsequently remarried. Many of the miners are seriously injured and it is almost assumed that a man with a missing arm or a leg lost it in a mine accident. One man in Sanlei lost his right hand the year before we started the study.

Finally, there is the lung disease of miners, silicosis or the black death. The latter probably also contributes to the higher than average incidence of tuberculosis in men who are miners although tuberculosis is a disease with a high morbidity rate in Taiwan in general. No old man in the area has been a miner in his youth and one of the oldest former miners, now age 58, has tuberculosis. Everyone agrees that it is extremely dangerous to be a miner and many men simply refuse to work in the mines because of the fear of injury or death.

316 Yet, because the wages are about the highest for
464 labor and a man is able to work when he might otherwise have idle time and still get off as often as he wants for as long as he wants (thus making it possible to work on his farm during the busy seasons), employment levels remain high. There is no other job which allows a man so much

464 for one of three factories but many girls go off to work
562 in other factories which provide supervised dormitory accommodations including food.

464 At one factory which is within a 45 minute bicycle
• 466 ride distance, a group of girls from Talei Li work by commuting daily. In the morning, two girls start out from Szulei, pick up two more girls in Sanlei and several in both Erhlei and T'oulei and then go on together in a group of li girls only. The other two factories each send a truck to the village in the morning to pick up a total of five Sanlei girls and bring them home each night.

The other way to work in the clothing factories is to live in factory-provided dormitories. These live-in girls also do not fit the definition of village resident employed in this paper but nevertheless, eleven former Sanlei village girls are living in factory dormitories. On the average, a girl usually commutes for a period of time before moving from the village to a factory dormitory.

464 The availability of factory work has had a signifi-
562 cant impact on the status of females in the village for girls are thereby, direct economic assets. The starting
562 wage of $300.00 per month ($13.00 per day) can be increased
465 with experience to over $1,200.00 per month for a skilled girl in six or seven years, but most experienced girls earn about $800.00 after five years. Young girls can

janitor and small repairman for a university building at $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

The family is renting a house and houseland up the hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

The Function of Religious Holidays

121 461 There have been innumerable anthropological accounts of the significance of religion and religious events in community life in such areas as intensification of normative standards, promotion of community solidarity, etc. Often seemingly overlooked are the effects of religious holidays in promoting work efficiency. Ever since the Hawthorne studies in the United States in the 1930's (Landeberger, 1958), industrial engineers and sociologists have recognized the importance of work breaks, short periods and full days alike, in increasing output. Although breaks seemingly mean a loss of gainfully employed man hours, output increases on the level of unit man hours as would be expected but more important, in total as well. That is, a man works fewer hours but produces a larger output if he has sufficient work breaks. Although this latter effect was surprising at first, it is now clearly recognized and accepted.

121 • 466 464 In a study of farm unemployment, C. K. Wu and T. K. Lee (1963) estimated that about 19 per cent of the total (potential) labor units and 24 per cent of the available labor supply in the early 1960's in Taiwan were unemployed. However, not all these people could be removed from the labor force without a deterioration in production because of the seasonal nature of farm activities (Koo, 1968:27-43). As previously stated, in Sanlei, at certain times of the year, there is a shortage of man power. Nevertheless, the

121 original figures of Wu and Lee (1963) are based on some
• 466 assumptions which I feel to be unreasonable as well as others
464 which are sound. They assume each adult male constitutes a full labor unit with each female and child counted as a percentage of a full unit. The figures appear reasonable in village terms as is their allowance for housekeeping labor requirements which are related to the size of the household.

121 However, I do not feel that their estimate of the
466 working hours bears sufficient relationship to reality. Wu and Lee assume (1963) and Koo agrees (1968) that an adult male is expected to work ten hours each day for 330 days per year. Both the number of hours in the normal work day and the number of working days in the calendar year appear high on the basis of my observations in Sanlei Ts'un.

464 The normal workday in the village was about eight
461 and a half (8-1/2) hours. Only in the very busiest seasons was the work day any longer. All hired labor was figured on the 8-1/2 hour day with an uncompensated period for lunch. Lunch breaks were longer in the warm weather so that most villagers had sufficient time for a short nap in the middle of the day. Men took naps more often than women. As previously described, there was a considerable amount of labor exchange and any one day's labor was considered the equivalent of any other day's labor no matter what the task. However, in the busiest seasons, people did work overtime but

the extra hours were not compensated on an hourly basis. Rather, work went on until dark (with a dinner break) and the day's labor was counted as a long day. It had to be repaid with either another long day or a regular day plus something extra such as an afternoon of a second day. Even when working on his own fields, a man would not average ten hours a working day over an extended period of time as assumed in the above described research project.

The work year of 330 days, allowing 35 holidays, also appears to be rather high. As described above, there are regularly scheduled religious holidays which yield about 15 days per year when there is no work. There are periodic but unscheduled holidays which add another two days per year to the vacation schedule. Life crises events such as funerals and weddings also detract from the regular work schedule for funerals take at least one full day and weddings another. Weddings are usually scheduled such that they fall in a relatively slack agricultural period. In Sanlei, the weddings and funerals of both relatives and neighbors are usually a customary obligation. Also, there are some regular reductions in work activities related to the bi-monthly worship days and on Sundays. In all, it appears that the number of regular work days in a single year, given a high demand for labor would still be less than 330.

There was a second method employed in examining the normal number of work days. Some li men are full-time

miners at a mine which operates seven days per week the year around and pays on a piece-work basis. The owners encourage the men to work every day all year except for the three days mines close for Lunar New Year. I reviewed the records and found that full-time miners from the village area averaged 308 days per year, 9 hours per day, in spite of the fact that the number of days they could work was unlimited. The men's estimates of the number of days worked usually were 26 to 28 per month, a figure that would closely agree with actual yearly records. Additionally, several full-time farm laborers with good reputations for hard work were checked (men who owned or rented no property) and in each case, they averaged about 26 or 27 days work per solar month, once again yielding a figure near that of miners, just over 300 work days per year.

The evidence from Sanlei Ts'un, admittedly a small untypical sample of all Taiwan, suggests that the assessment of underemployment in rural Taiwan may be overestimated. Even when unlimited work is available, few men approached the norm suggested above of 330 ten-hour days. The average seems to be about the equivalent of a nine-hour day six-day week, less national holidays. This does not deviate too far from the schedule found in the United States 30 years ago. I would suggest that this kind of schedule may approach the maximum period of time that a man can perform on a job at the highest levels of efficiency

512 people say that the entire family should gather to observe
782 the ceremony, rarely is anyone other than the worshipper and
512 small children present. Instead of eating breakfast at the
264 table in a group, as each person is ready, he takes a bowl to the cook who dishes up his food and provides a cup of tea, hot only if a fire has been made. Breakfast is eaten wherever room is available, often while squatting in the courtyard.

512 The first bus passes through the village at 5:45 a.m.
466 picking up two men heading for work in town. By 6:30 a.m.,
[494] all the people who work in town will be gone, two girls on
[493] bicycles joining the two on their way from Tzulei, two factory trucks each picking up their complements of girls,
[316] and the remaining men off to town on bicycles. About this time the miners walk off towards the mines so as to be
[241] ready for work down in the shaft at 7:00 a.m. Those working in the fields, men and women alike, leave at various times depending on travel distance so as to reach the work location by 7:15 a.m. at the latest.

512 All the children in the fifth and sixth grade and
891 half of those in the first through fourth grade head for the Erhlei school which starts at 7:15 a.m., joining the children who are walking from Tzulei. Since anyone late to school will be punished with a whipping, most children arrive early and play on the slides and in the school yard while waiting.